12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

428 a small legacy of a few cattle to anyone he likes, but the bulk of his property must be inherited according to the above rules.

422 562 *Women's Property.*—As a general rule a woman cannot own cattle herself, but holds them in trust for her husband. I have twice come across exceptions to this :—

(*a*) A woman who had plied the profession of a doctor (*i.e.* native herbalist) and had received cattle in payment.

(*b*) A woman who had amassed wealth outside and independently of the tribe.

Household utensils such as gourds, hides, and donkey saddles belong to the woman of the house.

175 791 648 634 *Laibons* (Masai, *'L-Oibonok*).—Hollis, pp. 324–330, gives the history of the *Laibons* up to the beginning of the present century. I will therefore briefly summarize their more recent history.

Lenana was made paramount chief of the Masai in Kenya Colony by the Government. He died in 1911. Some people thought that his brother Sendeyo had bewitched him, but little credence need be attached to this opinion. He appointed his small son Seggi to succeed him. As Seggi was a minor, Ngaroya, son of Neilian, first cousin to Lenana, was appointed as regent. Between the years 1912 and 1923 it was the Kenya Government's policy to curtail the powers of the *Laibons*. Seggi grew up a weak and lovable person, who has little authority, and is more often drunk than sober. At one time he was deposed from paramount chieftainship for persistent inebriety, but was subsequently re-appointed to be paramount chief of the Kajiado District only.

His brother, Kimuruai, is *Laibon* of the Purko section. He is a weak character, but vainglorious and boastful. He is very untrustworthy owing to his desire to seem more important than his character warrants him to be.

Ngaroya is now a very old man. He is *Laibon* of the Kakonyuki section. Sendeyo is *Laibon* of the Loita section. He was deported to Meru in 1923, it having been alleged that he was implicated in the rising of the Il Kitoip age-group of the Purko at the end of 1922. He was allowed to return to Loita in 1926 and still lives there, much loved and respected.

Whereas in Kenya the power of the *Laibons* has been much reduced since Lenana's death, and councils of elders have been created to try and take their place in the government of the tribe, in Tanganyika Territory the authority of the *Laibon* has been upheld and he is regarded as the paramount chief. I believe that the system has worked well. Until recently their *Laibon* was Parit, a son of Lenana. Parit is now dead, and a minor, whose name escapes me, has succeeded him.

In Pl. XIII, Fig. 4, is seen a photograph of Seggi holding in his hand the bronze club of his grandfather, Mbatian, and the iron club of his father, Lenana (*see* Hollis, pp. 329 and 330). Mbatian's bronze club is at present in my possession, but should be returned to one of his descendants at some future date.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

The members of each *ol-porror* are circumcised in batches. Each batch forms an associating group throughout Masailand (like the *mat* of the Nandi), and has a permanent name which recurs in each age-set, and in each succeeding age-set. There are four such groups in the Right Hand; they are called *Il-cageu-opir*, "the big ostrich feathers," senior;[93] *Il-parigotua lag*, "our swift runners"; *Il-kirimbot* (meaning unknown); and *Il-tareto*, "the helpers," junior. The Left Hand, being smaller, has, according to Fosbrooke, only the last three of these groups. Women have no age-sets, but are considered to belong to the *ol-porror* which was in formation at the time when they were circumcised.

The main function of the age-sets was to provide a permanent source of man-power for fighting, and through them are still taught discipline and respect for elders; they thus affect behaviour patterns. An attitude of respect is required of junior to senior age-sets, while between members of the same set there is a relationship of equality and a sense of solidarity in their relations with other sets. Membership of a set also involves restrictions on both pre-marital and marital relations, of which mention has already been made. In the old days, the duties of warriors were chiefly to raid, in order to maintain as well as to increase the numbers of cattle; and to defend the country. Warriors were not allowed to drink intoxicants, but they had a number of privileges, which included access to the unmarried girls, and the right to demand milk at any homestead, and to oxen for eating. Though officially their fighting duties have been replaced by certain aspects of cattle management, mainly watering and night herding, there is a constant tendency in some tribal sections to raid their neighbours.

Clans

Clans (*in-kishomin*, sing. *en-kishomi*) are divided into sub-clans or primary divisions, *il-gilat*, sing. *ol-gilata*. They are dispersed throughout Masailand, among all the tribes (*il-oshos*), and are totemic and patrilineal.[94] *It is not certain how many* clans there are, and this uncertainty seems to exist among the Masai themselves. The exogamous unit is probably the *ol-gilata*, though Tombo ole Mbaei says that

	Hollis	Merker	Fosbrooke
Clan:	Il-Aiser	Il-Aiser	Il-Aiser
Sub-clans:	In-Kidogi	En-Kidog (1)	En-Kidog
	Il-Parkeneti	Il-Parkeneti (1)	Il-Parkeneti
	I-Lukumai	I-Lukumai (1)	
	Il-Partimaro	Il-Partimaro (1)	Il-Partimaro
		Il-Parsinko (2)	Il-Parsinko
		Enk-aji nanyokie (2)	Enk-aji nanyokie
Clan:	I-Lukumai		I-Lukumai
Sub-clans:	(According to Tombo ole Mbaei)		Kerin-kishu
		Sitaylo (2)	Sitaylo
Clan:	Il-Molelian	Il-Molelian	Il-Molelian
Sub-clans:	Il-Molelian-aate		
	Il-Mamasita	Il-Mamasita (1)	
	Il-Pojos		
	Il-Kipuyioni	Il-Kipuyioni (2)	Il-Kipuyioni
	Il-Moshono		
	Il-Masegua	Il-Masegua (1)	Il-Masegua
	Il-Mokorero	Il-Mokorero (1)	Il-Mokorero
		Il-Muinko (2)	Il-Muinko
		Il-Parserenko (2)	Il-Parserenko
		Il-Parsinde (2)	Il-Parsinde

[*continued*

[93] In Nandi the senior *mat* is called *Cageuopir*, usually shortened to *Cogunish*.
[94] On the authority of Tombo ole Mbaei.

/67 cont./

881 of grass (ol márisian), into the front of which she sticks an ostrich
[301] feather, and, just like them, paints her face with white clay. On
[302] the circumcision day the women of the kraal arrange a feast among themselves, for which the girl's father has given a head of cattle
[583] and her mother has brewed honey beer. As soon as the bridegroom of the es siẽñgiki (pl. es siẽñgikin) -- this is the title for a circumcised girl and for a young woman -- learns that she is well again, he brings her father the last remainder of the bride price, whereupon nothing more stands in the way of the wedding.

The above-mentioned years counted as circumcisionless years for the boys do not come into consideration for the circumcision of the girls, as, indeed, is in the nature of the matter; rather, they may be circumcised at any time.

VIII.

000 Age grades. -- Designation of the members of the different age grades of both sexes. -- The terms of address, affected by membership in an age grade, among male individuals, female individuals, and male and female individuals between each other.

561 As among almost all culture-poor peoples, so too among the Masai the social position is assigned to the single individual in general
[562] by the age grade to which he belongs. That this is shown most clearly in the life of the man is explained by the mere fact that he is the lord living for his own pleasures; far below him stands the woman, who has a right to live only because of her labor power for him and her ability to bear children.

Until circumcision the male individual is regarded as a boy (ol aijoni, el aijok); during the preparation for circumcision and until after the healing of the wound, he is called os siboli (pl. es sibolio). Thereafter, for a space of time of about two years, he is introduced to the warrior's life and during this period is called ol barnoti (pl. el barnot). When this apprenticeship, during which folly and youthful exuberance are supposed to spend themselves, is over, he is regarded as a full-fledged warrior, ol morĩni (pl. el móran). As such the Masai spends his "best years," until he leaves the warrior standing at the age of 28-30 in order to get married and, as ol móruo (el moruak),

181 /120 cont./ If they
[567] spare women and children in war, it is not out of compassion, but solely in order to make them useful as slaves, whereas the Masai do not keep such. In general one cannot attribute to them a lasting vindictiveness toward their own kind. The Masai only in part possesses the courage attributed to him. Their extraordinary impudence often makes them appear more courageous than they really
[593] are. Their sensuality equals that of most East African tribes. The
[837] wife is at the disposal of every man who belongs to the age class
[561] (both ol boror and ol adji) of her husband and desires her. It is
593 obvious that, as a result of such conditions and in conjunction with the prevailing polygyny, there can be no question of a proper family life in the higher sense. For her own husband the woman is especially the labor force that he needs for household and livestock management and the means of fulfilling his wish for as many progeny as possible. *Accordingly her treatment* depends on how she measures
•562 up to these tasks. Moderate beatings are not uncommon, but rough
461 treatment almost never occurs. In contrast to the men loafing
[462] about lazily, the women are busy all day long. For the married
[617] women there are scarcely any amusements except dance and song; they had their share of them before their marriage, when they could have their fling in the warrior kraal. In public life, as well as with respect to her own husband, the wife has no rights. Of course the Masai woman does not regard her servile position as such. She knows nothing else, and fortunately one does not miss a comfort that one
562 does not know. As soon, however, as she is transplanted from her
461 own tribe into a foreign one through kidnapping in war, her willing-
178 ness to work immediately comes to an end. The less oppressive
177 her new position is, the lazier and at the same time more demanding she becomes. She suddenly regards herself as too good to work, and her desire for clothing and adornment often increases immeasurably. /121/ Accordingly, her interest in the household becomes less to the point of disappearing and her passion for amusement great. The reason for this phenomenon undoubtedly lies in the fact that she regards life among the hated and despised el m[illegible] as a disgrace and the work required of her by them as an insult inflicted on her.

/220 cont./

562 694 695 Women are also entitled to make a complaint. Evidence presented by witnesses is valid only to the extent that the persons assembled for the proceedings wish to be convinced by it.

683 [692] The crime of sorcery is only rarely dealt with in a judicial assembly. For the most part the one bewitched, after he has learned from an oi goiatiki the name of the bewitcher, prefers to induce the latter, through gifts, to bewitch him healthy again. Thereupon the two conclude friendship /221/ or, however -- and this not infrequently happens -- the bewitched one now kills his opponent, and, to be sure, without inviting blood revenge upon himself because of it.

681 648 [575 781] There are no secret societies for the purpose of legal actualization or for other purposes. Her tests or the belief that the dead person will reveal the murderer in a dream are unknown. The Masai do not live with other peoples in such a relationship that the latter could demand or request expiation for murder or some other crime or misdemeanor committed by a Masai on a non-Masai. In this case, therefore, the deed remains unexpiated, whereas the Masai as a rule practice retaliation if the deed was committed on one of their people. Whether or not the murder committed on an Asá or an oi Kuafi by a Masai is expiated depends in each case on the greater or lesser degree of friendly relations that exist between the communities of the murderer and the one murdered. In most cases expiation does not take place, whereas if the injured one is a Masai, his fellow tribesmen will answer with war.

448 warriors also carry a narrow oval shield made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a wooden frame, and painted with insignia including the warrior's age grade and clan.

561 701 [712] [542] [836] Originally during the period of warriorhood the morani were not expected to do any work except fight. They lived in a separate village, called a manyatta, and were generally taken care of by the unmarried girls of the tribe. Discipline was reputed to have been extremely good. The warriors had older advisors whom they obeyed.

224 [223] [304] [411] Ostrich were hunted to obtain feathers for ornaments, buffalo and giraffe for shields, and lion for the highly prized mane. Traditionally the moran was expected to blood his spear on a lion. The dramatic Masai lion hunts are famous. (Dixon, 1962). At 177 178 561 701 224 721 present warfare and lion hunting are illegal. The obvious result is a large body of young men with absolutely nothing to do for a period of up to 15 years of what could be the most energetic period of their lives. [233] They tend the livestock some, but much of the time there is nothing for them to do. As a consequence discipline is breaking down. The elders apparently have much less influence or control over the morani than they did

He may marry when he is a senior warrior. When he becomes an elder he may take his mother (if he wants) and her share of the family cattle (for each wife has a given share of cattle) and move off to join others in a village (Fosbrooke, 1948).

The unmarried girls of the tribe live in the warrior's manyattas and normally each moran has one favorite girl who becomes his concubine. They told us that usually that girl became the warrior's first wife.

[a] Villages: Villages consist of a group of families, often about five but sometimes more or less. The villages are commonly called kraals or (improperly) manyattas. Each kraal consists of an outer circular thorn fence with a series of gates, one for each Masai elder. Within the gates there are a series of huts. Often around the huts are small thorn fences in which young livestock are kept. The cattle of the village are normally herded into the space in the center of the kraal each night for protection from two and four legged predators, and in the morning they are taken back out to graze.

When a Masai warrior, his first wife builds on the right of his gate, his second on the left.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] their styles. The gourds are grown by nearby cultivators and purchased or traded by the Masai. The calabashes are cleaned between usings by washing in water (if available) and then purified with a mixture of urine and wood ash. After being carried in one of these containers the milk has a rather characteristic, somewhat smoky-sweet taste that may stay with one for several days.

[illegible] The maize meal is purchased or traded from the dukas or trading post cum general stores which are found at Narok, Loliondo, and at other points around the periphery of the area.

[illegible] [illegible] Meat comes from the Masai livestock and occasionally game. The old traditions laid down specified rules for who in the tribe might eat what kind of meat, and at [illegible] what times. Apparently the warriors had a right to demand milk and sometimes meat from anyone, at least in their section. Milk and meat were not to be consumed on the same day, but blood could be mixed with the milk.

[illegible] When not fighting the warriors could carry out [illegible] an olpul, or meat camp. They would take goats or a bullock and make camp in the bush, kill and eat the animals. The olpul might take from a week to a month, [illegible] depending on the available time and meat. We presume that

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

the principle was that the meat and blood strengthened the warriors for fighting. We periodically came upon moran cooking fresh meat. It was usually goat or sheep, although occasionally bovine, and they cooked it either by skewering pieces on green limbs which they held over the fire, or by placing the strips of meat on a wooden grill above the fire. Youngish children usually accompanied the moran. Gower (1948:79) notes that in Tanganyika Masailands

> At an olngi a few moran (warriors) will go into the bush and slaughter a bullock or goats. They take with them a few uncircumcised boys and girls. They camp in the bush for any period from 10 to 30 days, depending on how many bullocks they have to slaughter. For the first few days they eat the meat roasted and cooked; thereafter they subsist on soup. The Masai consider that this diet gives considerable strength.

We never observed moran cooking meat far out in the bush. Usually these feasts were close to a home.

We were told that eland and buffalo were considered close enough to cows to be proper food for Masai and this was also postulated by Grotanelli and Grotanelli (1960a) and described by Huntingford (1953:109). The women apparently could eat game meat, especially gazelles, during pregnancy. From the reception of the meat we brought to homes, we believe that in addition to women and children elders and a few moran will gladly

• 542 eat meat from wildebeests and gazelles. When I shot an elephant near one boma the Masai women turned out in [252] force. They spent most of the day cutting off strips of [442] subcutaneous fat and some flesh. A few elders joined [825] the women in the cutting. Several Masai requested fat from a lion I had shot (which had been raiding their boma), but they said that their use was for medicine rather than food. We have records, therefore, of Masai eating (or taking to eat) wildebeest, Grant's gazelle, Thomson's gazelle, elephant, buffalo, eland, and kongoni.

Cattle are usually eaten when they die. Cows are rarely slaughtered, although bullocks sometimes are killed for food and prize ones are killed and eaten [542] by men at ceremonies. We have watched women picking up the remains after livestock have been slaughtered, and Hillelo (1926) spoke of Masai women eating offal and other remains of oxen or sheep after the men were through eating.

231 272 Bleeding of cows and sheep is accomplished by tying a thong about the animal's neck so the jugular swells, then shooting a partially blocked arrow into the jugular vein and catching the spurting blood in a gourd.